

FRONTLINE info

FRONTLINE NEWS

OCT/NOV '88.

INTRODUCTION :

It is already a long time ago since you last heard from us, and on top of this what lies before you is not what we originally had planned to publish in this newsletter.

The reason being that our info center, bookshop Slagerzicht and Frontline info, was attacked on the 6th of October by a group that goes by the name of; "the political wing of the squatters movement". That is the name that they give themselves, we refer to them as the "onderzoeks" group, the "investigation" group. Almost everything that is necessary for our activities within the info-center was destroyed, the copy machine, typewriters etc...

The reason behind this attack was a conflict over a squatters café, however the conflict quickly spread out over virtually the entire city, putting our structures and resoluteness to the test.

In this newsletter, we center around this conflict, including various explanations.

Virtually nobody that is involved in the radical-left movement has been able to ignore or not take a position in this conflict. Due to this, lots of discussions concerning the contents of a radical-politic developed, and was partly put into practice. For example, regular city meetings were held in order to discuss strategies and tactics with regard to this (partly militant) conflict, where the general situation in the city was reported and discussed and statements were conceived and written. We were, on top of this, conscious of the fact that it was necessary that we thoroughly and clearly discuss and define the contents of our politics. In our opinion, this conflict between so-called radical and revolutionary-left groups, is not only unique in Amsterdam. During various discussions with our Turkish comrades, it became clear that such conflicts can arise wherever revolutionary struggles and structures, that are against the avant-garde, authoritarian forms of "revolution", develop.

We have tried, with the articles and statements that are printed here, to present a representation of these discussions, and there is also a brief summary of the various events which have taken place.

The situation is more or less back to normal here in the info-center, that is to say that we can once more continue with the exchange of info. Thanks to a lot of financial support, we have been able to buy another copy machine, and we have also been given a couple of typewriters.

Due to the fact that all of us see ourselves as part of the political struggle here, we were confronted with the problem of how we should approach and deal with this conflict. We realised the will and necessity contributing both theoretically and practically towards the political developments within the conflict, while at the same time the info-center had to be secured, protected and re-built in order to be able to carry on with our work (especially in such a situation). The individual decisions that were made with regard to the above, were not however discussed or passed on to one another within Frontline, being partly caused due to the lack of time available. Another aspect was the fact that we were unable to decide collectively, as to how to control the anger that we all felt over the destruction of what we had developed and built up. Due to this a lot of individual problems started to pile up, and we found ourselves unable under the circumstances to discuss effectively how to solve them.

All these factors combined inhibited the quick release of info. We are prepared however to rectify this as soon as possible.

People living on the dole or unemployment benefit become people who practice fraud. In this way a wedge is driven between groups from the 'large social middle' and the 'underclass', no matter what the cost. The latter regresses more and more, both materially and socially, without any perspective on development.

While the rest is doing well, the definitive split in society is a fact. The loyalty of the middle-class groups is being bought with economical advantages, e.g. the private home Thatcher promises to her faithful rank and file. Or, here in Holland through the plan of the 'commission Oort'; a proposal to reform the tax system, mainly benefiting the upper-average incomes.

It's these middle groups that form the political basis of the European neo-conservatives and that are the frame of reference of Lubbers & co.

Tied to this policy economically: there is something to be earned. And ideologically through the appeal on nationalist, religious sentiments, on conservatism.

Conservatism which is sensible for the call for law & order, aimed at anyone who is 'different'. The effect is an enormous growth in racism, sexism and gay-hate.

The legitimization crisis fits in the tension between the demands of international reorganisation (and the social-political consequences of it) and what the western democracies pretend to be. For instance- human rights would form the basis of parliamentary democracy; everyone would have the right to labour; poverty would not exist because welfare would be reasonably spread; the western countries would not be an integral part of the imperialist system; it would however be the birthplace of culture and enlightenment and wouldn't it have racial hate theoretically.

However for a lot of people reality is different. The tension between those factors is a threat to the 'subjective safety' of the state. Not in reality - qua relations with regards to force - however a threat to the credibility. To replace this they create the picture of the 'internal enemy'; foreigners, junks, radicals and revolutionaries.

The struggle against this 'internal enemy' is being used to reform and arrange society to the needs of the moment. The fight against 'petty criminality' comes into being as a daily slogan; the ethical revival of the conservatives supported by more and more people. That's one of the aims: obtaining the loyalty of the citizen.

Next to this these groups are also, simply and solely by their existence, an attack on the 'subjective safety' of the state. They don't fit into the project which is to be carried through, they are superfluous and a nuisance. That's the essence of the ongoing marginalisation and criminalisation of these groups.

Law art. 140 has been used much longer already against offences relating to drugs and property. In that sense it isn't new. New is the application of it in political cases, as part of the striving to harmonisation of the repression, which has to enable the common states to fight the internal enemy together and with the same methods.

All this is only half of the story. Analysis can be a form of radical criticism, however as it is - on itself - it doesn't offer any perspective to action.

Our only answer to these developments is to go to it offensively. We should become more careful as to preparation, however not lose our daring. They can take people out of circulation temporarily, the ideas and discussion continue.

2 We have also included more information over the sharpening of judicature here in Holland in connection with the law article number 140. René has also written another "sumud", which we have also included. On top of all of this we are busy with the organisation of a manifestation in solidarity with the palestine people, which we have planned for the 16th of December here in Amsterdam. As you can see we are very busy, and we have a lot more plans for the future.

NO PASARAN --- FRONTLINE INFO

STATEMENT FROM LEFT-WING BOOKSHOP "SLAGERZICHT" AND
INTERNATIONAL INFO-CENTER "FRONTLINE".

On Thursday afternoon the 6th of October, Frontline and Slagerzicht were treated to a short but never the less intensive attack carried out by the so-called "onderzoeks groep" (the "investigation group"), the attack occurred shortly before closing time. This group who call themselves the political wing of the squatters movement, managed to turn, in a couple of minutes, our space into one huge wreckage. Armed with truncheons they threw over the bookshelves, smashed windows, and destroyed typewriters, the radio, the telephone and the copy machine. Even the kitchen was not forgotten; the cooker, refrigerator and the coffee machine all had to pay. All the people that were present were threatened and one person was attacked so viciously that he had to receive treatment at the hospital (a badly sprained wrist). We see this attack as an attack on the political struggle and on the developments that Slagerzicht and Frontline are part of. Frontline, because it has the function to distribute and exchange information concerning political statements and discussions with political groups and organisations in other countries, and Slagerzicht, because the bookshop takes care of the circulation of magazines, books and brochures, which are important for the running discussions of the anti-parliamentary, revolutionary left. This attack on Frontline and Slagerzicht is only a part of the "onderzoeks groups" campaign of terror. Other places and people have been attacked and threatened, e.g. other squatt bars and cafes, (the eerste hulp, Wicca), the womens info center, and Stichting Opstand. (a group that is involved with crisis policies and entrepreneurs) People active within these groups have been threatened, intimidated, robbed and also attacked. Intimidation and blackmail can in no way whatsoever be part of any left-wing, anti-parliamentary and/or revolutionary struggle. We realise that we can not avoid this confrontation, and therefore we would like to make our stand-point with regard to this group, known to others, at the same time however, we are not prepared to only concentrate on the fight against, and isolation of, this group but that we shall continue to put our energy into the continuation of our political struggle(s). In the last few years, developments (also within the squatters movement) have come about which have been expressed in different ways. One thing however is clear; there is a definite need for political development and organisation on a long-term basis (such as the discussion over a political counterweight). Within this need, different choices and therefore priorities are established. In this regard for example, women are organising themselves to (amongst other things) to prevent the anti-patriarchal struggle becomes degenerated into a struggle for the same (repressive) rights that men already have, but to join the struggle of women to the struggle for fundamental liberation.

For years there has been an anti-Shell campaign going on, on various fronts, from the "official" committees to and including the autonomous and revolutionary groups. The anti-imperialistic practice of the last few years, e.g. RARA and Revolutionary Cellen, has given a substantial contribution to the discussions centering around revolutionary struggle and perspective here in Holland. The discussions, unclarity and (sometimes) contradictions between these various groups, occupy everyone who is involved with, in one way or another, the anti-parliamentary level. This was for example expressed in the congress "solidarity and resistance" that was organised in October '87, and also in the manifestation, brochure and discussions in connection with the razzias and arrests on the 11th of April, the so-called RARA case.

The "onderzoeks groep" however differs from this because of their destructive means which are totally incompatible with whatever stream within the anti-parliamentary left; - the threatening and beating up of people within the movement, the same movement from which they themselves originate.

- using whatever means necessary in order to destroy all the existing infra-structures, the idea being that only on the (literal) "ruins of it", can a strong movement evolve.

Objectively seen, this difference means that they are nothing more than an extension of the repression machine, the aim of which is to choke any form of resistance that is intolerable in the eyes of the capitalistic system. Also because of this difference we, the various anti-parliamentary positions originating from the movement, are able to unite in spite of the differences and running discussions and together reject the "onderzoeks groep" from all the existing structures. The benefit of the doubt that was awarded to the "onderzoeks groep", (e.g. from Slagerzicht with regard to the criticism of the movement by the "onderzoeks groep") is no longer given, due to their unscrupulous position that is a consequence from an a-solidarity, destructive attitude. This break is definite and we do not consider those involved any longer to be a part of the movement.

So far the role and the position that Paul Moussault plays within the "onderzoeks-groep" has not been mentioned, however he was also active in the destruction of Frontline and Slagerzicht. The coming together of P.M. and the "onderzoeks groep" does not surprise us at all considering the destructive and authoritarian positions that they both share and put into practice. Both make their stand with hollow militancy, which, in terms of effect, can be put on the same level as that from the state-organised repression. The "left-wing jacket" that P.M. presents to the outside world is the "Knipsel-krant". The Knipsel-krant presents itself as the newspaper of the revolutionary left. There appears in the Knipsel-krant, along side newspaper clippings, statements and discussion articles from active revolutionary groups mainly from west europe/U.S./Japan. The need and interest for such a medium is for us beyond doubt, we do not oppose the contents of the Knipsel-krant, that stands apart from P.M. (Paul Moussault is "chief editor" of the Knipsel-krant.) What we oppose is the way that P.M. uses the Knipsel-krant as a means of power, to manipulate and censor, in other words; to ignore and therefore deny the political developments going on here in Holland.

When we couple this with the actions of the "chief-editor" recently, - the purposeful destruction of existing structures in Holland, it is clear for us, once and for all, that the Knipsel-krant in the hands of Paul Moussault cannot give a meaningful political contribution to the development of the revolutionary struggle. On the contrary, it has once again become clear to us that the struggle for liberation is only possible if you are willing to be a part of the struggle, right from the realisation that we ourselves are the motors of the revolutionary struggle, and that changes must also be made inside ourselves and not only on the outside. There lies the basis of the revolutionary struggle.

This indicates for us the impossibility of any further co-operation/discussion with the "onderzoeks groep".

We feel strengthened by the solidarity (both moral and financial) and support that we have received from diverse groups and individuals.

...NO PASARAN...

SLAGERZICHT-----FRONTLINE

So as it is known, the "onderzoekers" group has been terrorising the (radical) left here in Amsterdam for the last four weeks, in consequence of the conflict surrounding the political cafe the "Eerste Hulp" in the Oosterpark suburb. Our reaction to the various acts of violence has been up to now very moderate. We had restricted ourselves to meetings and deliberations, supplying information of the conflict, re-building what was destroyed, protecting people and places under threat of attack and also developing a social and political isolation strategy. A lot of our time has been lost in the last four weeks due to this conflict.

Since the start of November, the "Onderzoekers" group has forced us to go further than the above mentioned reactions. For four weeks these destructive idiots have been busy with acts of violence, threats and maltreatment virtually unhindered. Via the so-called "negotiations" with the "peace-group" from the squatted cafe the "vergulde Koevoet", they were the ones making the demands and ultimatums, who demanded a weapon truce that they themselves did not respect. Last Tuesday an ultimatum was delivered to the Wicca*, nine demands had to be met otherwise the Wicca would be smashed up. They imposed a period of non-violence that only applied to us, (one of our actions, sticking up of posters (containing info over the "onderzoekers" group) in the area where some of the group live, was seen as an act of violence by the onderzoekers group! As a reaction to this they attacked people with stones and clubs the same afternoon. As for us the belly was full. We never started or wanted this conflict however they have forced virtually the entire anti-parliamentary left movement to make a stand, to reject them once and for all from our political structures. Apparently the attempts we had made to put an end to this conflict were not taken seriously, or simply did not want to be accepted. Okay, then we do it in a way that they understand. We are prepared to use other methods in order to put an end to this conflict so that we can return as soon as possible to what we were busy with before this conflict started. They should not be mistaken in our commitment, our power of endurance, inventivity and willingness. Two weeks ago they stated that they had nothing to lose; well we have a lot to lose and are prepared to fight to the end for it.

END OF October, Oosterpark suburb.

After two weeks of being re-opened, the "onderzoekers" group once more paid a visit to the Eerste Hulp, this being on the 28th of October. They managed to destroy everything that could be destroyed and stole everything that could be of use. We set about once again with the task of fixing and tidying up but the following week-end they returned twice more, the result of which was a smashed window and a stoled front door. The same week-end they were also busy in other areas in Amsterdam; smashing the window of another squatted cafe and also by peoples homes. It became clear to us that this group was not just simply going to stop these acts of violence out of its self. Apart from the solutions such as social and political isolation, if only to stop the violence on the short term.

The most obvious and certainly most effective answer for us, lay in the attacking of their cars. For the past four weeks they have used them to drive around and quickly carry out their threats and violence. On the night of the 1st of November, we destroyed four of their cars. During this action a short confrontation took place with some of the "onderzoekers" group. After we were finished and were on our way back to our post-action meeting place, a couple of them decided to attack us. We reacted to this very effectively, the result of which was that two of them were injured. The following night we smashed two more of their cars. By now it must be clear to this group that we do no longer accept their terror in any way, what so ever and that we are willing to continue this fight until they, for once and for all, leave us and others in peace, only then and not before shall we see this conflict as being over.

STEDELIJK OVERLEG AMSTERDAM 4/11/88

* Wicca, squatted building in the "Staatsleidenbuurt" suburb that incorporates a cafe as well as neighbourhood activities.

** Staatsleidenbuurt, an area in the west of Amsterdam where a number of the members of the "onderzoekers" group live.

NOTIFICATION TO THE "ONDERZOEKERS" GROUP.

Enough has already been said over treason. Treason is objectionable and has nothing to do with strong or weak people, but with the context of your politics, collectiveness and the structures that evolve out of the above.

Let's talk about that, about vision, insight and methods.

In the beginning you put the finger on the fact that some people in the end do not stand behind what they do. This fact is inherent in a movement that, time and time again, comes up against its own limitations without being able to further develop a political vision. It doesn't come about from a lack of militancy.

Your "attempt" as you call it: "to force a political discussion consisting of aim and contents", has only led to a fake-radicalism of the total purification. A "political-vision" that starts and stops by an image of a purified movement, made and maintained by you, the aim of which is to lead towards "....politicalisation and radicalisation of the active (radical) left".

This "traitorism" is therefore being used by yourselves as an intimidating, destructive hammer. Destructive and macho, an attempt to hoist yourselves into the saddle.

We don't know how busy you must have been with; pistol training, the false claims for the first RARA attack, the intimidation of people and the blocking of the evenings, but it must have consumed a lot of your time.

Let us tell it to you straight, the squatting movement - as the only alternative/option for the future; as the movement of the 80's - wherein you thrived with a loud mouth and a heavy hand - that movement no longer exists.

While you were busy with the "bullet-in-the-kneecap-solution" theory, we were making our own choices.

A choice for the development of a radical, revolutionary politic, here in Holland in western Europe. A struggle that is anti-imperialistic, anti-patriarchal and anti-racist. Stemming in part from the social movement, such as the squatting and anti-military movements and with no less importance, influenced by the struggle of women and black and ethnic groups.

This is where we are involved. A revolutionary process here, with international solidarity as its base. A process where all the acquired experiences and developments are bound together, wherein the consciousness over the contradictions and the will to fight, is expressed in discussions and militant actions, on various levels.

You are not, in any way at all involved in this process, your "vision" is one of terror and threats, the quasi-militant without content. We can see through your cheap flirt with the RARA attacks because, with regard to the developments of the politics into thinking and doing, you have never been involved. It took place without you. We view your "smash it down" vision and proportional deeds as contra-revolutionary, police work in fact. But, as with the police, you will be unable to stop us. We have developed structures with each other where we work from a foundation of trust, context and commitment, and those structures shall develop, even now while dealing with your insane destruction.

You wrote that you have nothing to lose, that's true because you stand for nothing except plain, simple rambo terror.

We have a lot to lose and we shall not let you even raise one single finger against us.

We shall set our struggle forward, at full strength.

FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE.

OUR POSITION WITH REGARD TO THE KNIPSELKRANT

In this article, we want to make clear our political position with regard to the knipselkrant (KK) and its "chief editor" Paul Moussault (PM). The necessity to speak openly over this person and his "project", the KK, has for us become obvious, due to the fact that after years of conflict and differences of opinion, this conflict has now reached a violent peak. We want to make clear what the actual position is of the KK, with regard to the revolutionary struggle here in Holland.

What has happened?

On Thursday, the 6th of October '88, PM and some of his "comrades" from Amsterdam, attacked the left wing bookshop Slagerzicht and Information centre Frontline Info. Within 60 seconds both Frontline and Slagerzicht (they share one building) were virtually totally destroyed. Armed with iron clubs they smashed and overturned every thing within reach, including type machines, the copy machine. Total damage, more than 10,000 Dutch guilders. Outside the bookshop, PM attacked one of our comrades so viciously that the guy concerned had to be treated at the hospital. This attack on Sz. and Fl is not an isolated incident. The escalation is mainly due to a long lasting conflict within the Amsterdam's squatting movement.

The 'onderzoeksgroep' ('investigation group / IG)

PM's comrades from Amsterdam that were involved with the destruction of Fl and Sz, belong to a group that is known as the 'investigation group (IG). The name which they themselves like to go by is: "de Politieke Vleugel van de kraakbeweging" (The political wing of the squatters movement) (PVK in Dutch). This group has + 15 members, 8 of which form the nucleus, and they have all been previously involved within the squatting movement. Around '83/'84 they lost their influence on the squatting movement, and started working on a new goal, namely: "to break down the old movement, and to build up, on the ruins of the old movement, a new purified movement". With regard to the "break-down" they have been very active for years. Motivated by the incomplete analysis that the squatting movement collapsed due to "internal" problems, such as: change of standards, treason and friendship-politics. It was from out this vision that they in 1986, took up the theme treason. People from the squatters movement that "talked" or committed treason against other people from the movement were handed extremely heavily. Their photo's appeared on posters, their addresses were published, and they were intimidated and threatened. The discussions that came about as a result of these methods were extremely destructive, and they centred around the methods to be used against traitors, and not of the origin of treason: the lack of collective structures, political content and perspective. The investigation group (IG) contributed absolutely nothing to these. The treason discussion was used as a destructive wrecking ball by this group, used in order to help push through the "purifying of the movement", and thereby to re-instate themselves within the power-positions that they occupied at the start of the '80's. For example:

In the start of '86 a squatter in Nijmegen namely the Mariënburcht was evicted. In connection with this eviction militant actions to stop the eviction were undertaken. Two months later, the police arrested 8 people. These suspects were held in remand for months and were subjected to, under psychological pressure, intense interrogations, the justice dept. wanted to make use of art. 140, a law which is basically the same as the west-german par. 129 a. This was a new initiative in the repression aimed at the squatters movement here in Holland. The squatters movement from Nijmegen was absolutely unprepared for this: which resulted in the fact that virtually all suspects held in remand made statements to the police. Lots of factors played a role: the paranoia 'outside', the fact that in the beginning, the suspects were given unprepared, misinformed lawyers, that for example endorsed the importance of making a statement; the most important factor was of course the fact that the movement was quite a vague group of people, that were involved for different reasons, with the movement without firm commitment and with little deninate context. The IG jumped into this Nijmegen case: it is true that they brought to the surface and published info over the treason that was committed, however only in the

light of their stand-point that traitors must be "dealt" with. Hereby they point to the methods that are regularly engaged in lands such as N-Ireland, S-Africa or Nicaragua, (such as a shot in the knee-cap, the necklace etc.). The IG published a brochure at the end of '87 entitled "Parels voor de zwijnen" (Pearls for the Pigs/ meaning 'beautiful thoughts for the scum of the movement') which included excerpts from the KK. On the cover of this brochure was a photo, that typifies their approach, lots of empty militancy, little contents (see supplement). To justify their practice, they make use of the "quagmire (marsh) quote" from Lenin, especially the last sentence which reads: "we are also free to go where we want, free not only to fight against the quagmire, but also to fight against those who open the way into the quagmire".

Their lack of contents and perspective came to light some time ago. They had for example falsely laid claim to a number of actions in the past, including the first RARA attack. In response to the traitors discussion, there came about a distinct disassociation from a large part of the squatters movement towards the IG. They were moved out of certain structures and ventures, however not everywhere. By a number of groups and suburbs, the IG was given the benefit of the doubt, based mainly on their criticism (mostly justified) of the non-committal attitude existing in the movement and were thus able to continue working together.

The reason for the recent happenings

This was amongst other things the squatters café named 'De eerste hulp', situated in the Oosterparkbuurt (a suburb east of the centre of Amsterdam). This bar had been renovated with the idea of opening anew as a political suburb café, with an open-ear attitude towards the suburb. The group responsible for the renovation and re-opening consisted of 11 people, two of whom belonged to the IG. Shortly before the planned opening a conflict came up over a womens-night (on a weekly basis) in the café. The two people from the IG reacted immediately against this proposal. They stated that the - organising-apart-from the rest - attitude of the women as sectarianism and forced a split within the café. This was followed up by a take-over of the café by the entire IG, with a new lock on the front door and their own new program. The remaining 9 people who were involved with the café did not sit back and accepted this take-over. They wrote and distributed a pamphlet explaining what had happened in the café. Due to this pamphlet, two members of the café-group were 'visited' and threatened by members of the IG. Two weeks and even more pamphlets later, the café was taken back by the café-group with the help from a few people from other groups in Amsterdam, this occurred on the 6th of October '88. A short while later a member of the IG tried to take-back the café but their attempt was to no avail. One of the IG members rushed in on a small group of people standing in front of the café, armed with (and spraying) tear-gas (this was done by the IG-member). After their tries at the café, they attacked Frontline Info and Slagerzicht, as a sort of one for one-action (see further in this article). With this the conflict took on a new dimension: no longer local (in the suburb) but in the city, national and even international. The reason for their attack upon Fr.l. and Sz. was that they had seen members from Fr.l. byat the taking-back of the café, and further, that Fl. was involved in agitating the IG and that Fl. painted a too 'colourful' picture of the struggle within Holland (according to their version), and thus frustrating their contact in other countries.

It is of course difficult to see positive developments if you do not have any perspective yourself... Directly after the destruction of Fl and Sz the IG tried once more unsuccessfully to re-take the café armed with iron clubs, tear-gas etc. One guy who was present by this attempt (from the café-group) was dragged back to a house of one of the IG-members a few hundred metres away from the café, where he was searched and interrogated. He was forced to name the names of people involved with the taking-back of the café, and was told that if he named no names that 'other methods' would be used, and an electric-shock-stick was produced, turned on and he was told, "if you do not speak up now you will receive a deadly shock from this". He was also threatened with a hammer, them saying that they would smash his knee-caps after he had told some names, his keys were taken from him (he first had to give the addresses of where each key passed) and after more threats were made and he was released. Due to the above it was decided (the same night) at a meeting of the city, to attack the IG back. The house where the interrogation took place was completely destroyed (the interior of course), a café/meeting place of the IG was also

destroyed, and a couple of windows were smashed at the house of another member of the group. It was also decided to begin a total isolation approach towards the IG politically and socially.

The terror from the IG continued mainly in the Staatsliedenbuurt (a suburb wherein the majority of the IG lives) where, on a daily basis, people were beat-up or threatened. The victims being mainly people not so involved in the movement, actively, more or less unorganised. PM was most of these events involved. On the night of the 21-th of October the IG attacked again (see explanation of the 1-st week in November).

The Knipselkrant (KK)

Originally we were not planning to openly circulate our position with regard to the KK. Some time ago we decided to keep the discussion intern. That is to say, inside revolutionary movement in west-europe. The shit-experience with PM and the KK has been separately building up for years, towards one point, and it became definite that with him it's no longer possible to carry out a meaningful political discussion or practice. We wanted and want a political split in order that internat. clarity can be reached over the position of the KK in connection with the real authentic revolutionary process taking form here in Holland in the last few years. In getting that struggle off the ground, a process in which the KK was virtually not involved, (in fact the contrary was the case.) The more we formulate and develop our aims, the more we come in our struggle to form and develop a revolutionary strategy and perspective, out of the situation here, even that is silenced, denied and even worked against, by the KK and thus the person of PM. Especially in the last 1½ years the standing differences have become opposite poles. The attack on FI and SI. and the rest of the campaign of terror that PM is part of, has led to the throwing open this discussion.

Our position with regard to the Knipselkrant in the recent years

The organisation of an international discussion over the revolutionary struggle (practical and theoretical) is of utmost importance to us. We want to make that clear. It is this that has led us to deliberate for quite some time now, with regard to taking a definite position against the KK. On the one side we did not want to bring the police in the picture, on the other side was our own opportunism, we found it very convenient to receive every month a packet of info-statements and discussion-articles from various countries. We also had no fancy in spending our time and energy into such a confrontation, within which the consequences would be hard to control. That is why, until recently, we limited ourselves to putting distance between PM and the KK. Lose from the KK, we have established and developed our own contacts with comrades in other countries. FI and Sz are also concrete developments in this direction. They both hold an important position and function in the exchanging and spreading of information over, amongst other issues, the revolutionary struggle in Holland and other countries. They also work as "entry points" for various groups from various countries.

In february '88 Slagerzicht bookshop, moved from Groningen to Amsterdam and moved into a new space together with Frontline Info, despite the political differences between the two (anti-imp versus autonome). This unification has developed into a living component of the political struggle here. Also from this unification, certain practical initiatives were undertaken. E.g. getting hold of a copy-machine, which is also used by other groups, for spreading info and also the setting up of a support group for political prisoners. They have also played an important role with regard to the so-called "RARA"-arrests of 11-4-'88 and also with the activities surrounding the process against René. An attack on FI and Sz. is therefore an attack on our political development.

The development of revolutionary resistance in Holland

One notable feature of the anti-imp resistance in Holland is, that there has been no continual development, connected with a certain group of political persuasion. The revolutionary movement that has been developing here in the last few years has its roots in the resistance in the early '80's. Our struggle has evolved partly from the social movements, the diverse independent struggles, such as the squatters movement, the anti-military and anti-nuclear movements; and also, from the womens movement and black/ethnic minority groups. Around '85

the social movements came up against their limits, borders, both internally and externally. Externally through the increased repression on the one side, and the "building up" policy of the state on the other side, and internally via the lack of a one-politic-base, collective structures and a clear perspective. The result of this was lots of "splitting-up" of the resistance. In the years that followed, various attempts had been made to break out of this situation; however too many attempts got stuck in too vague common denominations (e.g. the anti-repression conference, the anti-military days etc.). The many initiatives and discussions eventually resulted in the organisation of a 3 day conference entitled "solidarity and resistance" which was held in November last year ('87). For 3 days, 200 people joined in the discussions which were conducted over various themes that had been worked out in a brochure (entitled "International Solidarity and Revolutionary Resistance") and which was distributed a few weeks before the conference and included themes such as; international solidarity - the Palestine resistance - anti-patriarchale struggle and resistance in Holland. Although this was just the beginning of a widely based discussion, everybody quickly realised the importance of an uniting strenght, and there was also a willingness to search out the possibilities for such. However the development of a new anti-imp revolutionary movement is not only a process of talking. For example the attacks of the RARA have played an important role in this development. This group was the first (here in Holland) to bring a consequent-militant-anti-imperialistic-politic into concrete actions. RARA is on the one side also a component of the struggle against apartheid, that has been (since + '84) carried out by a quite loose "radical" movement and on the other side RARA has stimulated the forming of a new revolutionary movement. RARA has brought the anti-apartheid struggle to the centre of what it is all about. Not a sort of moral responsibility or only the solidarity work of the various committees, but a political solidarity, that consists of "...attacking all the economical, political and military institutions, that makes the suppression here and elsewhere possible". Alongside the RARA, actions were also carried out by other groups; operating under various names (such as the Revolutionary Cells (RZ)). In february 1988 an attack was carried out (that was unfortunately unsuccessful) on the factory where the new dutch (european) passport is to be printed. In the press statement, the "revolutionary commando No PASaran" stated that the action was directed in the name of the struggle against international re-structuring and the unification of Europe, and thus against the increased control that is a consequence of these developments. On 11-4-'88 eight people were arrested in Amsterdam, while at the same time their houses were searched. According to the police, this was to do with the RARA. From the eight people that were arrested one is still being held. He (his name is René) has been in the meantime sentenced to 5 years of jail due to "being an accessory" to four militant attacks, 3 from the RARA, and the passport action from Rev. Commando No PASaran. This move from police and justice is directed against the starting developments of a revolutionary struggle in the last few years in Holland. The only appropriate answer to this was to bring the offensive revolutionary politic further. We and others have done just that. A brochure has been published including discussion articles, a manifestation was organised and info-nights in various cities were arranged in which our political ideas were the central issues and not the repression of the state. Therefore, René's trial became an important political moment, within which, so as René himself stated (on paper) "the contours of a new (revolutionary) movement have become visible".

The position of the Knipselkrant with regard to the resistance in Holland

In order to be able to clearly expose the position of the KK we have to go back into the history. The KK appeared in aug. '78. It was an initiative from the Red Resistance Front. That was an anti-imp. group that was active in the years 1977-1980. the chief aim of this group was making propaganda for the armed anti-imp. resistance struggle elsewhere: chiefly in West-Germany, Italy and Palestine. Various support activities were undertaken by this group. Serious attempts from out this situation to build up an active revolutionary movement here in Holland were (virtually) not carried out. Paul Moussault (PM) is actually the only remaining "active" person from this group. The name

Red Resistance Front (in dutch Rood Verzet Front RVF) no longer is what it proports to be. PM has been with the KK right from the start. He has on top of this, been the central figure within the KK in the last years. He controls the post box, the archief, the 'contacts', etc. Although other people have worked with him, the KK has never been a product from an actual collective structure. People were brought in, used, and there was an ever present atmosphere of competition, performance and the degrading of women. The information that was recieved via the post was considered as personal porperty by PM and was sometimes used as a middle of exchange in order to get certain other things done. In other words ; trading with information over the revolutionary struggle. One of the ever returning problems was for example the with-holding of press statements. Sometimes, one would have to "beg" for days, or even weeks before PM would "release" important actual info and/or press statements that were in the possession of the KK. Sometimes, as a result of such practice , concrete initiatives were sabotaged for example; a press statement from a group on a hunger-strike was withheld, while at the same time it was known (by PM) that other peoples were anxious to translate it and undertake other activities. Another example: in '87 the RVF brought out a brochure over ASALA¹). A pile of these brochures were delivered to the comrades at Slagerzicht with the condition "take everything or nothing", threatening (absurdly) that otherwise all other brochures brought out by the RVF that were in the bookshop would be taken back. The brochure came-out at a very sensitive (political) moment: some months earlier was the CSDPA ⁽²⁾ terror campaign in Paris. One of the demands connected to this campaign was the release from prison of the ASALA. BY handling in such a way at that moment it was more a political provocation than making a contribution with regard to discussions and attempts to develop our own political criteria, over what had gone down in Paris. The KK has /had an ever increasing important function with regard to the repression against magazines/papers in other west-european countries such as L'international, Ligne Rouge, Radical, etc. At least in the last few years they had. The fact that the dutch laws were not yet on the same level of adjustment as within other European countries, meant that it was possible to publish such newspapers/magazines here in Holland. The KK however had very little base here in Holland, and from within the KK, very little was done to change this around. The arrogant and cynical attitude of the 'editor in chief' that "nothing shall ever be realised here (in Holland)", led to the fact that the KK has not, on whatever level imaginable, been a part of the development of revolutionary resistance in the last few years here in Holland. Here follows a couple of examples to make it perfectly clear:

- The KK has carried absolutely no information (except for a small piece made from German newspapers (!), concerning the arrests of 11-4-'88, or over the process against René on the 10 th of august '88. No press statements or letters from René. No discussion pieces or evaluations of the situation from our-side all of which were available and in abundance. In contrast however, page upon page (in the KK) was dedicated to the 'schmucker-process'. We see this as nothing more than the direct denial and the withholding of an important part of the revolutionary struggle here in Holland. The evening before the process of René took place, a manifestation was planned. Alongside the mobilisation for the process, it was a manifestation against the imperialistic re-structuring and the European unification, and for the building up of a rev. counter-force. In the week leading up to this manifestation, info-evenings were arranged in various cities in Holland, where some of us were also speaking. One such evening was in Groningen (home of KK and PM) in attendance were also two people of the KK (one of them was PM) and a member of the IG. Alongside the explanation given over the process, it was planned to discuss the various theme's that were to be discussed on the manifestation (a brochure over these themes was published for and prior to the manifestation). These 3 people however made all attempts to discuss impossible by, for example, hanging on a meaningless point, eg.. what to do with the police on the day of the process. the way in which they sabotaged every attempt made at a meaningful discussion, made it quite clear to us that they do not want these discussions to exist. At that moment of realisation we drew the definite line between them and us. It was decided not to let them partake in the manifestation (KK and IG). However they did attempt to get in at the place where the manifestation was held. Our refusal resulted in a reaction from PM: "now it is war, ...trench warfare", which he repeated three times.

a member of (inserted in the sentence)

peated three times.

The Knipselkrant and the Investigation Group

So as we have already said, the link between the KK and the IG came about at the start of '87. The theme being 'treason'. It was very easy for the maker(s) of the KK to get involved with the IG, due to the fact that the KK has always (99%) been compiled of text, statements from others and news-clippings. The KK has hardly even taken part in discussions. Basically, the only time when they wrote their 'own' pieces (mostly pieces made up of various quotes) was when the police were attacking the paper. There has been another couple of times wherein the KK has been forced to make it's own stand-points known. We would like to give a couple of examples of this, so that a more definite image can be formed over the back-ground ideas of the KK with regard to 'treason' and the connection with the IG.

At the end of '86 a wave of criticism was directed towards the KK, the result of certain mis-placed, bad taste, articles from the editor(s). In number 23, a sort of wanted poster was printed, wherein Peter Bormans (ex-worker from the magazine Ligne Rouge) was accused of being a cop, and there was an attached call-up to execute him or to smash his knees. The reward offered the carrying out of one of these 'actions' was: "a free life-long subscription of the KK". A target was drawn over Bormans picture. Also in number 27, a photo of the body of Renault chef Bessé (killed by a commando from Action Directe). The photo took up the whole page; his head lying in a pool of blood, and printed with red ink. In an "open letter" to the KK from people in W-Germany voiced their criticism: "we feel that it is more than superficial that you (the KK) use the space that you have for cheap verbal radicalism. Verbal radicalism is not serious, and in fact causes injury to those who work with it, because it suggests a strenght that those concerned do not have". In another letter, was talk of "taking over the methods of the police". Forced to react, the RVF press office came out with their reaction at the start of '87. The criticism concerning the photo of Besse, was not taken seriously, and was simply wiped from the table; "we are not going to become involved in this Freudian project nonsense". With regard to the Bormans affaire, a little more attention was given. That more or less expected due to the fact that in this affair certain things were attained.

- 1. P. Bormans was found not to be a cop. It is true that he stated openly in an interview that the CCC might have been manipulated by the police, which is of course slanderous talk, but there is absolutely no proof that he is a cop.
- 2. It is known that several infiltrators were active inside the Ligne Rouge. (It was through this that P.B. stated that this could also be the case with the CCC).

Alongside the fact that the KK/RVF press office had made a call up for the execution of someone who was not a cop, there was a close contact between Ligne Rouge and the KK. For example they published a brochure together in '86. This must have been initiated due to the need for self-criticism. However with regard to this, not one word was uttered. P.B. was changed from "cop" to "political enemy", and only the problem of treason was hammered in. Quote: "it is of absolute importance to analyse the problem-politics, however the political and police like enemies are not yet in the 'next world'". (!)

"The political analysis is absolutely compulsory for every militant revolutionary, it is, the military task for those, that after a painful impliciet "police" investigation and with a large political responsibility, to carry out the political judgement". We are definitely not involved in trying to protect Bormans. For us however, we are concerned with the dishonesty, the lack of self-criticism and the absolute irresponsibility with regard to the way that all the enemies are thrown together. Not one word over the breeding ground of treason. Nothing over how it is possible that infiltrations can get inside rev. organisations. Such a demonstration of struggle and the way in which political problems are handled, has as far as we are concerned, nothing to with liberation or the forming of a revolutionary identity.

The "case" of Hans Alderkamp

On the 25 th of May 1988. Hans Alderkamp (HA) was arrested by the west german/east-german border crossing, Helmstedt. He was arrested due to the suspicion that he was responsible for the distribution and transportation of the book "Widerstand heisst Angriff" (Resistance demands Attack), which is forbidden in West-Germany. Directly after his arrest, PM came out publically as the "care-taking manager" of HA. No form of publicity was undertaken, and other people were "instructed" by PM, to leave the case alone, and not to do any thing. The arrest was for the first time made public, 6 weeks after it took place, via a radio-program. The arrest was described to various people as an "industrial accident". There was no activities what so ever initiated, with regard to the organisation of a publically open solidarity offensive campaign centered around the arrest. No-one understood this. And that is the reason why a group of H's friends decided to form a support-group, however a working-together-relationship with the "caretaking manager" PM was out of the question. The RVF-press-office published a press-statement at the start of august '88, which stated (incredibly arrogantly) their views over "political solidaritt". Here one can not speak of a serious discussion, direct contact was put aside as much as possible. The result of which, is that there is still development with regard to "political solidarity". At the end of August, several house searches in different areas in West Germany were made, seemingly in connection with the arrest of H.A, followed quickly by a reaction from "the publisher of the book". In the K.K. number 8, the "big silence" was broken in a most dubious way. Distance from HA was stated, in a very dirty way, with an idiotic reason, as to why. He (HA) was accused of being "a typical example of liberalism". The "publisher of the book" implicitly stated that HA had worked with the publisher, which gave thus new material for the constructions of the german police (talking of treason).

Conclusion

A line can be seen that has been pushed in the last few years both in the actions of PM and in the contents of the KK, it must have been this line, that can hardly be called political, that led to the working together with the IG. It must by now be clear as to the actual aims and the way these "aims" are carried out of this group.

We feel that when judging the whole situation one should use the revolutionary principle "to judge people on their deeds and not on their words" should be centrally honoured. That is to say, with regard to the KK, that the KK should not be viewed apart from the political practice and methods of the chiefeditor, PM. Through his actions, PM has acted objectively as a provocator and functions therefore, for the interests of the state and of capitalism. By attacking and trying to destroy the radical resistance, and the start of the revolutionary struggle and organisations here in Holland.

The KK can therefore no longer be considered as a paper for the revolutionary left.

We want an international discussion over a boycott of the KK to take place. For us, this is chiefly in connection with the production aspect: that press-statements are no longer sent to the KK. The consumer aspect shall most probably only be able to be realized on a longer-term base. We realise that the KK has had played a central role in the info-distribution, in the last few years. And it might be that, because of this, that a temporary "gap" comes about. The development of an alternative is not only our responsibility alone. It must be a question that is looked at by everyone. That realises the necessity of the need for magazines/newspapers for information and discussions as a part of the further development of the revolutionary struggle here in W-Europe. And that also takes the organization of structures that are thus needed, seriously.

As to ourselves

In the last few weeks, it has been for us, virtually impossible to put certain issues (temporarily) aside, in order to take part in the whole idiotic situation.

The provocations came at a very sensitive moment, just as we were involved with searching for new possibilities in order to set offensively further the political developments from last year.

We also never wanted this confrontation, and certainly not this way, although we know that there is no way around it. We are prepared to put all our energy in bringing our plans further, in the near future.

REVOLUTIONARY INITIATIVE AMSTERDAM

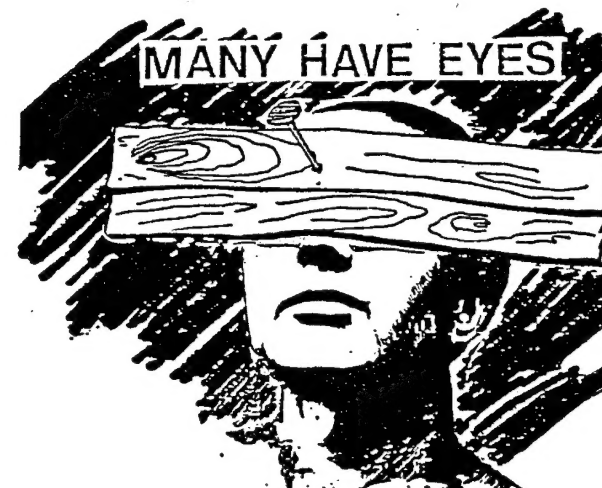
Hans Alderkamp has got a new address:

Hans Alderkamp
J.V.A. Lunenburg, Uber-Oberlandesgericht, Celle
Postfach Oder Schlosspark 2
3100 Celle
West-Germany (BRD)

THIS PHOTO IS FROM THE
COVER OF THE BOOK
"PARELS VOOR DE ZWIJNEN"



THE MOVEMENT,
ACCORDING TO THE
"ONDERZOEKS" GROUP!



BUT CANNOT SEE

It's already three months since Renè was sentenced to five years jail, the sentence was pronounced on August the 24th, 1988.

In the meantime the motive (written) behind the sentence has been known for some time. With regard to this we also include the length of the sentence. This did not have to be explained or specified in separate, presumably proven "punishable facts".

Michels (the judge), especially took into account the scale of the damage that was effected (150,000,000 Dutch guilders); that personal injury could have been caused, and that the attacks caused a large public unrest.

The sting of the sentence is especially felt in the way that the court "proved" that punishable acts had been committed (by Renè).

After summing up the, according to them, technical evidence such as paint splinters, electronic shop receipts etc., the court came to the following conclusions:

--- "that from the resemblance in techniques and the way that the attacks were carried out by those responsible in all cases (the failed attack on the passport factory, K.E.P. the second Makro attack in Duivendrecht, the attack on the Makro in Duiven and the attack on the Shell petrol station in Nieuwegein) it can be concluded that the established facts were committed by one and the same group, with a common aim."

--- "that, from the fore-mentioned evidence, it becomes clear that the suspect was closely involved in the preparation and execution of the facts, to such an extent that he has to be seen as a fellow-culprit, even if he was not present (in body) at all the attacks mentioned". (end of quote).

Even though they never mentioned it, such a construction of complicity offers them at least as many possibilities for political prosecution as article 140.

Firstly a group of culprits is created (one and the same group, with a common aim); this is the criminal organisation referred to in article 140.

Under article 140, an "active contribution to the maintenance of the organisation" is enough to be punishable. In the verdict, the proven "close engagement in the preparation and execution of the facts" is considered to be sufficient evidence for the conviction of a fellow-culprit* with regard to all the "acts of execution" ascribed to a group of culprits.

The appeal-case against this verdict is to be held on the 3rd of January '89 in Amsterdam. More info over the appeal will follow.

During the last few months, several people have asked themselves what you expect or have to gain from an appeal after such a political, repressive verdict. "It will not change anything, it will only help to uphold the juridical pretence". And indeed, the chance that Renè will be released following his appeal is minimal. The speed with which the political justice is sharpening itself is quickly followed by juridical line.

The way in which the evidence against Renè was obtained was, in terms of legality, was illegal when it was obtained. (The laws have since been changed, now the investigating judge no longer has to be present during a house search.)

Still, there is a very small chance that the appeal court is running one step behind in the race of the prosecution council for 1990 (Schengen) and 1992 (the unification of Europe), however this is the heart speaking, the hope that one of us is not going in for five years despite the fact that the mind knows better.

From our point of view a glance at the developments justifies the conclusion that for example, the process against Renè will be setting the trend when looked at with regard to the sharpening of juridical repression. Especially "spectacular" cases which, in the words of Michels "bring about public (on a large scale) unrest" are the political moments wherein the repressive instruments are re-adjusted. In this sense the kidnapping or murder of a millionaire (as with A. Heijn who was kidnapped and murdered last year) forms the legitimization necessary to make the planning of criminal acts punishable, a step further towards political (mis)justice. This appeal case is not only interesting for us but is also interesting for them qua political moment. With regard to this, we would like to refer to the remarks that Renè made in the article that follows. (the sumud). In that article he also reacts to the proposition that going into appeal is only legitimizing the state. Of course the process and the appeal are, in light of the political justice and jurisdiction, no isolated items. The various committees are studying like mad on the harmonisation towards the Europe anno 1992. More jails, heavier sentences, compulsory identification, easier grounds for arrests and remand, house searches etc.. In the meantime, the verdict that was given with regard to 8 people

from Nijmegen (against whom art. 140 had been used in connection with the Mariënburcht case, all 8 received 8 months) and art. 140 has been used again in connection with an anti-militaristic peace camp. In the lead up to the appeal case, we feel it is a good idea to put the flood of developments, proposals and intentions of the state together and to attempt to make a political interpretation/analysis.

The decision that we made to put our heads together was the result of the arrests that were made on the 11th of April, the so called "Rara arrests", and the events that have followed. We also wanted to continue the discussions over a common revolutionary perspective further than the congress and the manifestation. In order to reach a higher level, more continuity was needed, in other words, we had to keep our heads together. Internally, that is to say towards Renè, but also towards the movement. In the hope of lifting the discussion over and above what has happened and the "space" that has evolved

--- The process against Renè means more than the 5 years that he has to endure personally.

--- A reaction to the monstrous alliance Knipselkrant/onderzoeks group is more than just getting our own back.

--- The attention shown for the Intifada during the time shocking scenes were shown on the T.V. should not fall into silence.

We want to continue sticking our heads together, to be approachable for Renè, for others, to be able to address others, to deliberate and to discuss, in order to develop a substantial unity which is able to stand the splintering and the estrangement.

FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE.
REVOLUTIONARY INITIATIVE AMSTERDAM.



Another message from the "bijlmerbajes" (the jail in Amsterdam).

Autumn has fallen here as well and now the sun only shines around the corner. Time for reflections and melancholy, this silence between summer and winter. Now sitting 'inside' also seems to bring about a somewhat different meaning compared to the summer. Everybody who passes is thickly dressed and in most cases hurrying on their way home. It slightly lessens the direct desire for the 'outside', i.e. to be outside in the cold, the miss of the (relative) freedom however isn't reduced by it, quite the contrary. It also has consequences for the organisation of the prison and the prison life. In spring and summer you're outside with all kinds of activities, much more than in autumn, life is now concentrated more on the pavillion and this certainly was noticeable lately. Despite the fact that turnover (people going home, being the minority, and people being transferred, the majority) is quite large, still a certain rhythm develops. Everyone has his peculiarities, people who just come in start up their first (uncertain) contacts, the old hands put them up to a thing or two. There are more steady groups and cores here and they decide whether to allow new people to join in, or not. There are a lot of people polluting the atmosphere and only a few who make it, which means you are constantly occupied in drawing lines, in letting remarks slide off your back and if 'they' come too close, rumble a little. Territory doctrine: everybody has an imaginary space in which no one else is allowed. For some this is the cell, for others their personality, a game for young dogs which has to be played anew every once in a while.

Lotta C. (someone with whom René is corresponding) asked me how I handle racism and sexism. Difficult question because I don't have only one answer to it, but several. Racism and sexism amongst the inmates: first of all racism. Eighty per cent of the prison population here is foreigner, this withholds every dutch jail-bird from an all too explicit standpoint with regard to this. The sort of racism amongst the convicts is best to be described as: "you are o.k., but..." followed by some kind of remark to be described as a cheap opinion. The prison is a multi racial repression institute and the different groups are mainly going about with themselves. I didn't experience any real racist fights and my discussion about it is mostly about the thesis of some white convicts that they are a minority themselves (and therefore would actually like to be positively discriminated). How this multi racial -repressively organised- miniature society, which the prison is, is functioning, is best to be seen during recreation. The dutch guys simply walk their rounds to the left. The turkish guys walk straight up and down, the chinese guys walk to the right and the guys from Surinam sit together. That's how it goes at the pavillion, minding your own business.

Within the guards there are two categories: the popular guys, who make their quasi-funny remarks, and the agogue+types, who did institution work or who are still doing it, and who have learned that what they think has to be translated/spoken as carefully and neutral as possible. However, also they are very careful because not only is it a politically sensitive item, there is also the fear for escalation, because all these guys have their experiences with racism and in that sense it's always sultry here. One specific contradiction here, is that between the 'blue-collar-guards' and the 'white-collar-guards'. Between guards and the directors and staff. The latter are pursuing what you could call, an enlightened policy here, a sort of integration policy which expresses itself in all kinds of courses for the foreign guys. The guards have to deliver the personal for these courses and accompany and watch over those activities which intensifies their work-pressure, which then leads to more unrest amongst the guards. In that sense "het Schouw" (the prison department to which René was transferred three months ago) is one of the last bastions where social-democrats are in charge, a situation which doesn't exist in "Demersluis" or "Havenstraat" (two other jails in Amsterdam). There personal and directors are streamlined and the whole policy is racist, not only institutional and structural, however right up to shutting the doors. With regard to this the two killings at the Havenstraat speak for themselves. Here racism has got more to do with the fact that the majority of the prison population is foreigner; that most of the foreign guys don't have a good lawyer; that they often disappear into a cell at the Foreign Police after sitting out the sentence, only to be put over the dutch border afterwards and they themselves don't know how to prevent this; that they receive higher sentences for equal punishable facts; that they are forced to assimilate because there are hardly any possibilities to live their own culture and in fact that's what it's all about: the institutional and structural racism of the state.

With regard to sexism in jail. This is inherent to the system and in fact it's not a term which can cover the whole situation. First of all, it's about how you are expected to live your sexuality here in prison: by books and porno videos.

It's disciplining and estrangement of desires. Human needs of warmth and tenderness are being manipulated and with a prison full of men that isn't so difficult, the male experiencing of sex is estranged anyway, however in the prison culture it brings about an extra dimension of control. And so I try and handle it as much as possible, but it is difficult. The whole atmosphere around it is worse than in the army - where the estranged (estranging) sexuality has the same function. Most of the time I remain silent, or become abusive, however it's always frustrating because it's like I'm being touched and don't want it, it thrusts itself upon you and the whole atmosphere around it infects my own memories and desires in such a way that the only way I know to deal with it is to live an ascetic life. Scornfully, I'm being called the puritan and the monk, but that's alright with me. The only discussions about sexuality, intimacy, loneliness I do go into are at the redaction of the prison-newspaper which does have sense because this is one of the few places where you can use a different language towards this so very strange translated hunger for intimacy. But of course, this ain't much either. Besides, there is also a double standard with regards to sexuality: rapists and culprits of incest are on the lowest rung of the hierarchy ladder. Often they have to be protected against 'accidents' and apart from the prisoners that are considered to be escape risks, they are the ones that are transferred most. While intimacy is constantly being raped here, the ones who put theory into practice are the garbage of the prison because the rest imagines it could have been his wife, girl-friend, sister or mother. As soon as the object turns into subject, everything changes.

It's the above-mentioned things that make the day to day life difficult. Difficult to relax, to have real meaningful conversations. As far as this is concerned I suffer from a chronic lack of conversation, sometimes only once a week, for half an hour or so. This puts a huge pressure on my contact with 'the outside', next to or on top of the problem how you can continue being as part of a collective process, from within a prison situation. Because the attack on your essence is so complete in prison, the orientation, on the outside, being part of it, is a necessity to survive and the meaning of the sentence: to regain our identity as human beings and collectivity as aim and means in the struggle, has deepened itself for me.

Prison remains a focus point of social putrefaction where a sole flower blooms, however the stank dominates. I wrote it before, but it hasn't lost its value, on the contrary: for me the most important thing is to keep on fighting against that role of the social prisoner. Not because my fellow-convicts are beneath me, but because it's part of the break-down and attack on my political identity. And this is not an identity which only includes the clear knowledge, or all kinds of analyses, however the fight for my own subjectivity just as well, and substantially that's the same struggle each one of you out there has to fight as well, albeit under slightly different circumstances. In the end we're all -more or less- products of a society in which estrangement is totally organised, and for the ones who experience this to the bone, there is no other way than the path of dialectics of liberation: society is authoritarian and organised totally - repressive and oppressive. It influences every solemn human being, every individual and on top of that all social groups, in their cultural, social, economical and political structures and conditions them. From this follows a dialectic of searching and conquering, a theoretical and practical struggle. "To fight is the ultimate ratio of free people." (F. von Schiller).

Lotta C. asked about the appeal and also about the why of it all and whether it isn't the legitimization of the bourgeois justice state. Lotta wasn't the only one asking about it, and I got a bit wound up over the presupposition which underlies those questions. For the convenience I summarize them as follows: "true revolutionaries don't defend themselves for the bourgeois judge." That's right if you adjudge the analysis of the state and its institutions with eternal value, however to examine whether the theories are also valid today, and if so, to what extent, the only way is to examine and to try them on the current practice of the so-called constitutional state. That has nothing to do with a legitimization of the system. Just as by the first process and as now, the defence is based on challenging the practice of the state to simply put political opponents in jail in times of crises, on the basis of juridical constructions, and the defence denies the 'right' of prosecution by this state because of the involvement in passive and active genocide as it comes into expression with regards to South Africa and the dutch role in IMF and World Bank, whereby the european unification is a step which is being made to defend, in a block, the interests of the states. In a nutshell, this is what the first first process was about.

The verdict of Michels was a purely political-juridical construction. And at the appeal it's about seeing whether this verdict will be accepted. According to their own rules, of this so-called constitutional state, I should have been released a long time ago. If the court of appeal takes over the verdict of Michels, then that means that the development of political justice and political jurisdiction in Holland is developing itself in a certain way and that it wasn't only dependant on the personal reactionary opinion of Michels.

The appeal case will deal not so much with south africa and the north-south contradiction in general, however more with what is going on around here at the moment. The verdict of August 24th can't be seen in any other context than with the developments with regards to law art. 140. Juridically speaking the verdict of August 24th makes the use of law art. 140 superfluous.

To my beloved readers, this is it for the moment, the rest will follow in the next articles. Now I'm going to play chess, this morning I got a slap on the hand that I'm not handling it seriously enough. See you, I'll hear from you, write you and eh... SUMUD!!!!

p.s. All substantial remarks and other writings are very welcome!

René



19
Law art. 140 as part of the harmonisation of legislation;

Political justice in the united europe

Recently the people of the Mariënburcht were convicted in their appeal case on the basis of law art.140. Combined with the verdict of the 24th of August these are two examples of an intensification of the attacks by the state towards the political opposition. The constructions which have been used in both cases are important steps in the development of political justice and political jurisdiction.

The general development.

"The police is occupied less and less in tracing already committed punishable facts, and is, in cooperation with the intelligence services, registering and watching over large groups of the population more and more in order to keep future political and criminal groups of the population under control. In the past the punishable facts were summed up in the criminal law code and the task of the police was, and they acted accordingly, to trace offences of these norms and to track down the culprits involved. It's more and more so that the police are 'pro-actively' involved in registering social developments". According to Ties Prakken, defence lawyer in the Mariënburcht process.

The state is building up the repression.

Korthals-Altes (minister of Justice) calls the above-mentioned development the process of 'crime-control' and gives priority to this development above the position of suspects:

"Developments such as the professionalising and internationalisation of organised crime on one side and the consolidation of the juridical position of a suspect under international treaties on the other, have led to the fact that criminal law as an instrument for the fight against criminality is not sufficient". Korthals-Altes said this at the inauguration of the Moons-commission, the 'commission enrichment code of criminal procedures'. This is another name for a thorough organisation of the possibilities to prosecute more and more easy, especially including more possibilities for the state and a lot less rights for the suspect. The commission has been inaugurated on the basis of an advise by the attorney-generals of the Prosecution Counsel, with the request to solve the 'bottlenecks' which they presented.

Bottlenecks such as:

- remand. Up until now it was a practice that whenever a mistake was made in the official summons, the accused had to be released. This is now to be changed, giving the judge the possibility in cases of 'a seriously shocked legal order', to impose a new period of remand custody so that the public prosecutor can revise and correct the summons.
- remand must be imposed quicker in cases of 'seriously shocked legal order'. Justice will have to be able to take action immediately, without having to conform to all kinds of regulations such as a reasonable suspicion of guilt etc. This includes an extension of the number of points on the basis of which remand can be imposed.
- the presence of an investigating judge at a housesearch and the housesearch in general will be bound to less regulation. The housesearch will have to go under responsibility of the public prosecutor.
- anonymous witnesses accounts will be allowed during court cases.

A development paralles to the judicial repression is the part of the report 'project group quantification policestrength' (PKP), under chairmanship of the future-head of the internal intelligence service, dr. van Leeuwen.

The most important substantial criterion to come to a concentration of cops in certain areas was the prevision of the crime-controller: putting on more cops in the areas where a lot of foreigners and unemployed people are living. By his presence the copper works preventively/representively towards these groups.

The real work will be done (and is being done) by the regional and inter-regional investigation teams. The cop-on-the-beat is being replaced by the automatised trench-coat/body-warmer.

20 The development of sharpened general repression described above is not a trend which has been launched by justice alone. The velocity with which justice is speeding up the developments lately, with regards to the general policy, has got to do with the fact that there is only one financial year before 1990, the year of Schengen. By themselves the judges for some time have already been rewarding the call for revenge. In 1986 the increase of the average length of prison sentences was 21%, placed in the face of the real percentage of the increase in criminality: 1%, which shows that the wind of reaction has been blowing through the courtrooms for quite a long time already. The call for more cells has to be understood in the same light. Not the so-called explosive growth of crime makes this necessary, but the forever increasing length of the sentences given, especially with regard to drug related crimes. So, on the whole these developments do not arise from the fact that the judges would be too liberal/tolerant, but because the juridical basis has to be re-written for what is already partly happening, the most important reasons being:-

Schengen 1990 and Europe 1992.

The accord of Schengen is the forerunner of a untied europe. The aim is to come to the realisation of the internal market. The opening up of the internal borders serves the economical interest; free transport of goods, services and capital. At the same time the omission of the internal borders produces problems towards the maintenance of public order and the policy towards foreigners.

"For the fight against border-crossing criminality the harmonisation of legislation could be an important means. (...) The opening up of the borders will have to lead to intensification of the cooperation between the respective police and judicial bodies. Starting from within the national sovereignty opportunities have to be created in order to improve the international criminal-fighting bodies and also actual cooperation." Quote taken from the annual report of the dutch prosecution counsel 1987.

In all policy notes concerning criminality or the criminal code for foreigners, the magic word harmonisation reappears. Since the signing of the Schengen treaty in 1985, approx. 10 officials have been doing nothing else than working on the above-mentioned policy: police and justice want to take farreaching measures (and to have the juridical basis for it) in order to control the 'free movement of people.' This juridical basis for it has been put down in the existing european treaties (as for instance the european treaty to fight terrorism) and this is one of the reasons for forcing up the general internal repression, the harmonisation of the (length of) sentences. Before 1990 a network of repression and control measures have to be functioning between the FRG, the Benelux and France, and the spearhead in carrying out this harmonisation is the control over the immigrants and the forcing up of the internal repression and control over this group.

"Because of the open internal borders it will be easier for the illegal alien to transport her/himself within the territory of the Schengen partners. It's obvious that those concerned travel to those places where the policy towards foreigners is most tolerant and where the collective facilities are easiest to obtain. In order to prevent a race in restrictiveness of policy towards aliens as well as in reservedness and control at the provision of the collective facilities, between the Schengen-partners, also on these fields a cooperation will have to grow." Quotation from Korthals-Altes.

Concretely the harmonisation of foreigners jurisdiction means:

- Control over the external borders: the commencement of the Schengen Information System (SIS). An information system which serves to control the immigrants at the external borders of the Schengen countries and which, for the ones who might slip through, will also take care of internal control. Officially not added to this list, however having a lot to do with it, is the police-data communication System (PODACS) which will come into use

21 shortly, and also a new recognition system (HKS), which in the end will have to serve the flexible procedure of control by terminals in police patrol cars. The superfluous, because of the opening up of the borders, military police with their 'specialistic' knowledge will be brought into action at the internal controls which will have to take place in the future at gatherings of large groups of people, such as big events, but also with traffic jams etc. Alongside this airplane companies will be used as private investigators: they will have to pay a fine and the return flight for those refugees who manage to slip through the meshes of the european borders, which have been drawn on the three continents and of which the barriers are no longer at the start of the national motorways in Colombo, Ankara or Rabat.

Harmonisation of the visa policy by the separate Schengen countries.

This harmonisation has to bring the internal 'flood' of migrants under control. Migrants who take the official path and ask for a visa in one of these countries, don't have to try again in one of the other after they have been turned down: this is part of the SIS. Next to the already existing development of illegalisation of all existence possibilities for immigrants, such as the coupling of the permit to stay and the right of receiving unemployment benefit; to education; to medical aid, the sanitary belt is already closing itself around the Schengen countries as a test-case for Europe 1992. The information on immigrants and the basis for turning down for instance political refugees has to be introduced in the SIS through the Schengen embassies. The provision of the harmonisation of the visa policy is strictly secret. And not without reason, if these provisions had been revealed, the conditions for admittance and refusal would become known, and with this the level of the political interference of Europe/Schengen on the three continents. It's possible to lift some tips of the veil: firstly the B-status for refugees has been abolished. The last few years the application of the A-status has been minimal and restricted to severe conditions: there has to be question of a situation possible to be tested individually and there may not be an internal escape alternative. So as a refugee you have to prove that the ruling repression has hit you personally. Political resistance against a ruling regime is not recognised as such by the dutch government. This also becomes clear from a verdict of the high court in 1978, whereby the turkish state was given the right to exterminate the kurdish people "because the power of the state is legitimate".

Another spearhead is the already quoted 'harmonisation of the policy of investigation and prosecution'.

In practice this means that there has to be agreement as to the definition of criminality and you can see this harmonisation blend into each other e.g. with regard to the prosecution policies towards soft drugs. Officially holland has a permissive police, however the FRG hasn't, and holland is cooperating with england internationally to curtail the import. In the mean time the sentences for trade in soft drugs have been lengthened as a concrete concession towards the FRG.

This harmonisation makes a more extensive and intensive cooperation between police and justice necessary. The emphasis in this phase lies with the prosecution and carrying out of verdicts; the coordination of extradition of treaties and the conveyance of prosecution. Concrete measures now being worked on are the flexibilisation of the procedures, especially the direct contacts between police in the phase of investigation, the commandeering of criminal reports (such as the dossiers which were passed on to the german justice in the case against Harm Dost) and possibilities of border-crossing observation and prosecution. Important for a close-fitting policy of investigation and prosecution is working towards obligatory identification. Steps which are being made in that direction are: the obligation to legitimate whenever there is suspicion that someone is an alien; extension of the remand period in police cells for 'suspects' who refuse to say their names. The tracing of 'suspects' is to be centrally co-ordinated. PODACS and HKS will be put into practise in the Schengen cooperation in the form of the Schengen trace register, in which everybody will be included who is to be arrested or registered on the basis of the harmonised police and juridical cooperation.

A theoretical, however probable possibility is that if you demand 'zusammenlegung der politischen gefangenen' (communal cells for political prisoners), you had better not come too close to the German border because of the possibility of border-crossing observations and persecution, next to the extended extradition treaty.

'Harmonisation of legislation and regulation'

Recently the so-called 'commission van Veen' (existing of a Public Prosecution, police and the reactionary, former member of the High Court, van Veen) published an advice: the planning of heavy crimes has to be made punishable with a punishment of 2/3s of the sentence which someone would have received if the crime would have been fulfilled. Exactly as with '140', here acts - which on themselves are 'innocent' - are being made punishable. This time it's not the FRG which is the shining example for van Veen and co., however Great Britain: there only recently 3 people were convicted and sentenced to 25 years on suspicion of wanting to assassinate Tom King, secretary of state for northern Irish affairs.

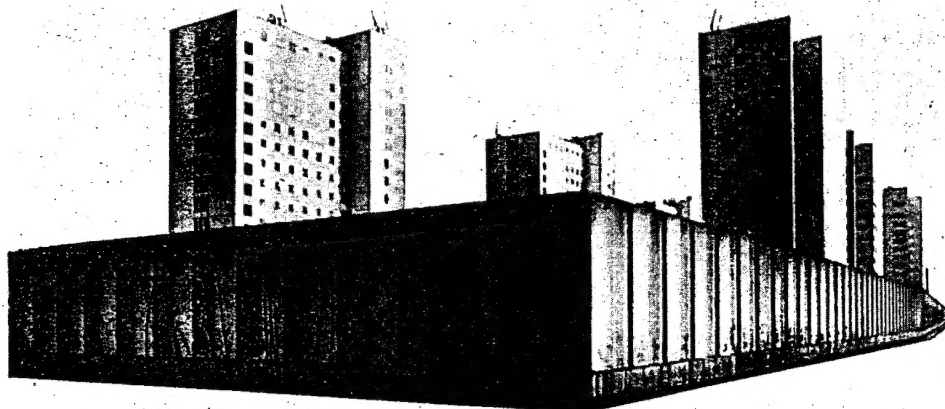
In England the right to remain silent has also been abolished. Someone who makes use of it will be confronted with a judge who is allowed to advise the jury to take the silence as an aggravating circumstance, a statement of guilt in disguise.

Here in Holland it doesn't go that fast, here justice is allowed to hold a silent suspect longer than a talkative suspect.

The actions of the 'commission moons' are also part of the 'harmonisation of legislation and regulation' (see also under: "the state is building up the repression")

So far it seems only a loose summary of all kinds of measures which push up the general level of repression. A few measures put in line gives the view of an introduction of the structures of anti-terrorism legislation as the ones which are already being used in countries like Italy, the FRG, Great Britain and Spain.

✗ The collective offendership, the intellectual offendership, the penalizing of intentions, the consequently undermining of the position of suspects by penalizing the right to remain silent. Thatcher's ban on interviews with the political opposition (sinn fein), which she called "taking away the breath of the resistance". The application of law art 140 the verdict of the 24th of August, the commission van Veen and the consequences of the introduction of the commission Moons, mean the state of emergency of Modell-Deutschland as it took its form in western Europe in the several national anti-terrorism legislations, which will also be the basis of the cooperation between the Schengen-countries and later for the political unity of Europe.



A PHOTO OF THE 'BÜLMER'-JAIL WHERE RENÉ IS BEING HELD.

The efficacy of law art. 140

A political analysis.

The consequences of the introduction of law art. 140 will be of great importance for us the coming years. The effect this law will have is that of fear and intimidation for many and heavy sentences for the few.

During the judicial investigation in Nijmegen, law art. 140 was used as a political-judicial crowbar. The verdict of the appeal court in Arnhem indicates that 'they' are convinced of the necessity to extend the juridical repression apparatus. It's a form of the German 'intellectual offendership' and as such it's part of the series of adjusting measures, which have to be carried through in Holland in the framework of the Schengen-treaty. It's clear that for justice law art. 140 will have to be a variant of the German law par. 129a. The development in the FRG with regard to par. 129a shows they are purposely keeping the contents of the law extremely vague. Law 129a was first used against the guerilla, RAF. Subsequently, while resistance was growing, to be stretched and accommodated in such a way that 'all other organising groups and parts of the movement could be attacked under this law.

At first instance the application of law art. 140 in Nijmegen seemed to have the purpose for them to make an extended judicial investigation possible. The most important aim being: to register the structures, contacts etc of the movement in -in this case- Nijmegen.

At second instance it's function is to punish people for political pronouncements, towards media or at meetings, and therefore the introduction of the collective -intellectual- offendership.

The latter seems to get a continuation at a furious rate in the face of the attack on 'Paasheuvel' where 40 people were arrested under law art. 140 and where 6 people were eventually charged.

Public preparations for resistance and demonstrations can now be attacked in this way. The threat of collective complicity/co-offendership is designed to block our own collective development.

It has to bring about preventive fear. Like the one that struck in Nijmegen after the arrests: "do I still want to go to meetings, who is still willing to say something?"

The verdict by Michels (the verdict of 24.8) and the one by the court of appeal in Arnhem (7.10) mark a transition from political justice to political jurisdiction. This difference is important there where it's about an analysis of the underlying relations of force. To be able to have an idea of the development within Justice and the judiciary - under influence of the economical re-structuring - and the political changes that will follow from it.

Political justice is the development of laws which have to defend the existing political order. This does not have to mean that those laws will actually always be used. They develop a construction scheme and fill in the specific use later, according to need. This depends on the political moment; the events, the ideas within bureaucracy, an analysis of costs and profits of the effect on the sensitive public opinion and of the reaction of the groups threatened with sanctions.

Seen in this way law art. 140 is an expression of political justice and the verdicts in the 'rara'- and 'mariënburchtcases' of political jurisdiction.

This means a sharpening of the climate towards the political opposition. The cause of this is not the fact that the internal opposition would be so strong, that the state would be forced to react.

However it's got to do with the legitimization crisis of the western democracies. The post-war welfare state was based on the consensus between capital and labour and meant -here- a relative well-being for many. Starting from a so-called thought of solidarity: 'one a bit more than the other, but together everybody will benefit from it'. The break-down of this is a consequence of the internationalisation of economy. The wheel is turned to a 'caring society' - based on the principles of a free market. 'Every one for her/himself, God for us all'.

This development lead to huge contradictions between the promises made by politicians and the clear effects of the actual policy, for instance with regard to 'employment'. At the moment these contradictions have become too big, the structural unemployment of hundreds of thousands of people is accepted as an established datum and subsequently these people are slotted into a 'problem category'.